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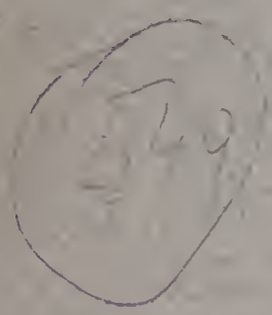
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS
IN
AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY

Vol. 14, No. 4, pp. 437-488, plates 22-23, 3 figures in text March 11, 1919

THE WINTUN HESI CEREMONY

BY
S. A. BARRETT



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INTRODUCTION

The Wintun Indians formerly occupied a territory lying, in the main, between the Sacramento river and the crest of the Coast Range of California.[1] While the subdivisions of the stock have not been exactly determined, there appear to have been three major languages, usually called the Northern, Central, and Southern. Within the Southern speech there were at least two dialects, whose distribution on the whole conformed to the topographical differences between the open Sacramento valley and the foothill and mountain region. These two dialectic groups may be designated as the Southeastern and Southwestern Wintun.

The culture of the Southwestern Wintun seems to be more closely related to that of the Pomo adjacent on the west than to that of the Maidu, who are separated from them by their own Southeastern kinsmen. This fact appears clearly in the arts and industries. The mortuary customs of both the Southwestern Wintun and Pomo favored cremation but omitted the celebration of a mourning anniversary. The Maidu buried the dead but held an annual "cry" or "burning" in their memory.

On the other hand, the ceremonial system of the two southern Wintun divisions, while of the general type common to the Indians of a large part of central California, appears to have had closer relation to the religious organization of the Maidu than of the Pomo. This is instanced by the Wintun and Maidu both practicing a Hesi ceremony, which the Pomo lacked.

Among the Southwestern Wintun of Colusa and Yolo counties, there still persists, or did until recently, something of the old organization of ritual dances, namely, a regular series of ceremonies extending from fall to spring. Formerly, this began and closed with performances of the *hesi hūya* about the first of October and first of May. Of late years, the initial *hesi hūya* has been replaced by a subsidiary rite, the *toto hūya*, but the spring Hesi continues to be made.

The object of all the ceremonies, but especially of the Toto and the Hesi, is primarily to insure plentiful wild harvests and secondarily to secure the health and general prosperity of the people. The performance of the Toto is believed to assure an abundance of "green foods," such as "Indian potatoes," by which is meant *Brodiæa*, *Calochortus*, and other bulbs, as well as the plants whose foliage is

[1] Present series, VI, 284–289, maps 1 and 2, 1906.

eaten. The Hesi is thought to produce "ripe foods" in plenty: grass seeds, manzanita berries, and especially acorns.

At intervals during the months between these two major ceremonies, there occur six others[2] of lesser importance, which are usually celebrated simply by each village, whereas for the Toto and the Hesi the people of neighboring villages are invited. These minor ceremonies are: *kenī, lole, sedeū* or coyote, *silai* or grizzly bear, *kūksū,* and *waisaltū.*

The ceremonies bearing these names occur in the order given and must be carefully distinguished from dances and dancers of the same names. In general, any dance may be introduced into any ceremony. In addition to the dances bearing the same names as the ceremonies, there are other dances, which do not correspond in designation to any ceremony. These are the *waima, silī, salalū,* and *gīlak.* This makes about a dozen dances and eight ceremonies. The word for dance is *tono,* for ceremony *hūya.*[3]

What dances shall be made during any one ceremony seems to be left largely to the volition of the participants, particularly the director, who appears to be usually also a shaman of some reputation. The particular dance named after a ceremony is always made some time during the ceremony, but a selection of other dances is usually also given, without any set rule as to their order within the ceremony. Between the eight regular ceremonies, gatherings without especial religious significance and devoted chiefly if not wholly to pleasure, may also be held. In these assemblies any or all of the twelve named dances are made, but without association as a ceremony. Such an occasion is known by the same name as a single dance, *tono,* as opposed to the *hūya* or complex of dances made with a sacred purpose.

Of the two major ceremonies, the Toto and the Hesi, the latter is the more important. It lasts four days and nights, and is the one ceremony whose regulations all residents and visitors observe scrupulously. In recent years its particular form and exact date are determined annually by the spiritual visit of a shaman to the abode of the dead, *bole wīlak,*[4] where instructions are received by him from

[2] There may have been a greater number before aboriginal customs were disturbed.

[3] *Hūya* means to gather or assemble. Strictly there is no Hesi dance but Tuya and Moki dances in the Hesi ceremony.

[4] *Bole* is the ghost of a dead person; *saltu,* a spirit. The Southwestern Wintun distinguish their modern ceremonies, which contain a *bole* or ghost element (allied to the "Ghost Dance movement" prevalent about 1890 among the eastern Indians of the United States), from the older ceremonies which were free of such an element.

Katit,[5] who controls the world at large, as well as the domain of departed human spirits.

The following pages describe a Hesi ceremony celebrated by the Wintun of the village Let, in Cortina valley, Colusa County, in the western foothill region of the great Sacramento valley, from May 5 to 8, 1906—less than a month after the earthquake that preceded the fire which destroyed San Francisco. The earthquake was felt strongly in Cortina valley and was interpreted by the Indians as a sign of the great displeasure of *Katit* with the world and its people. This ceremony was therefore attended more widely than had been customary for some years, and thus afforded an excellent opportunity for observation. The author attended the ceremony to record its salient features for the University of California; and, in the summer of 1907, was enabled to obtain from the old director and shaman, Salvador, or Sasa, whose trance had preceded the performance, explanations of a number of its features, as well as phonographic records of the speeches made by him in its conduct and of the several songs used.

Frank Wright, a man then of about thirty-five years, who spoke good English, served in this ceremony as Salvador's chief assistant, and on the latter's death a few years later succeeded him as principal director of the Hesi among the Wintun of the region. He furnished the author with information during the progress of the ceremony; and he served as interpreter for Salvador when the phonograph records were secured. As many as possible of the speeches and songs were transcribed by the author and translated for him by Mr. Wright on this occasion. In 1909 Dr. A. L. Kroeber had opportunity to verify these transcriptions and to obtain translations of the remaining records. This work was done by him with Mr. Thomas Odock, a Southeastern Wintun, who understands the Southwestern dialect of Cortina and is himself conversant with the Hesi through the instruction of Salvador.

Since the ceremonial dance system of the Maidu Indians of Chico was very similar in its outlines and in many details to that of the Southern Wintun, and since the former has been described by Dr. Roland B. Dixon,[6] it is unnecessary to repeat here the features common to all the dances of the region. Such matters as the structure of the dance house, the use made of the center post, the performance of the *Moki*, and the like, which are practically the same for all the rituals of several ethnic groups, will therefore be assumed as familiar

[5] *Katit* is a species of hawk.

[6] The Northern Maidu, Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., XVII, 283–333, 1905.

to the reader, and the account that follows is restricted to descriptions of the ceremony witnessed and explanations secured from the Indians. In short, this paper is primarily a record of information that may never again be obtainable. It is not an attempt to elucidate a part of a complex religious scheme with reference to the system as a whole.

THE HESI CEREMONY OF 1906

A few days after the earthquake, Salvador suddenly went into a trance and on his awakening announced that he had journeyed to *bole wīlak,* "ghost world," and that *Katit* had directed him to announce to his village that on a certain day, which was Saturday, May 5, all must assemble for the Hesi, and to invite the Indians of the adjacent parts of the Sacramento valley, and the Pomo and Wintun of Cache creek, Sulphur Bank, and Upper Stony creek.

FIRST DAY

Friday, May 4, and the forenoon of the first day of the ceremony, Saturday, May 5, were spent by Salvador and one of his assistants in the preparation of ceremonial poles, head dresses, rattles, and the like. Most of these paraphernalia only needed rejuvenating, since they had been kept over from the ceremonies of the year before. The work on them was done in the dance house.

POLES AND MOKI CLOAK

These ceremonial objects consisted of the following pieces. There was a pole about 25 feet long, with a small bunch of feathers at its apex and near this a sort of banner of pieces of colored cloth. It was also wound about its entire length with cloth of different colors. This pole was to be erected in front of the dance house entrance and was the most important of the ceremonial objects. There were three smaller poles, also decorated with variously colored cloth, for use about the feasting table. Further, there were a short cloth-wound pole, and a cylinder of black cloth twelve or fifteen inches high and eight or ten inches through; both for the roof top of the dance house. All these objects were called *bole sak,* and while prepared without any special ceremony, were placed in their respective positions with singing and ritualistic observance.

The only other strictly sacred object used was the long cloak worn by the *moki* performer. In earlier times, this cloak was a net of eagle feathers and covered the wearer completely from head to foot, except that small openings were left through which he might see to make his way about. In the present instance the network was replaced by gunny sacking and the feathers by strips of cloth, so that the costume was but a sorry representative of the aboriginal form.

SETTING THE POLES

As each of the ceremonial objects was completed in the dance house, it was placed on the floor just south of the center post. They were then placed in position in the following manner and order:

The large pole was first placed in position in its permanent hole in front of the dance house. With an ordinary digging stick, Salvador, who will hereafter be designated as the director, removed the cobble stones with which the hole had been filled to keep it from crumbling from year to year. He then took a six-foot cocoon rattle, called *cōkōkai,* and rattled four times over the hole, crying in each case a long drawn out "*hē.*" Toward the end of each call his voice gradually fell in volume. He stretched his rattle the first time toward the west, that is, the dance house, then to the south, then the east, and finally the north.[7] In each instance he stood on the opposite side of the hole and extended his rattle across it. Thereupon he stepped back toward the east, and setting the end of the rattle on the ground shook it in time to the *tcolī muhī* song, which he sang until the pole was in place.

Tcoli Song[8]

teo'lule	wile	teo'lule	hūyama	teo'lule
stand up	healthy	stand up	assemble	stand up

As the director began this song, his assistant commenced the ceremony of taking the pole from the dance house to place it in position. From just back of the center post of the dance house, he slowly walked completely around the recumbent pole and to the south of the butt of the pole (fig. 1, A). Here he stopped, faced west, raised his right hand over his head and slightly forward, and gave a long "*hē,*" toward the end of which he let his voice, and simultaneously his hand,

[7] West, south, east, north is the invariable ceremonial circuit of the Hesi, at any rate with reference to the directions faced.

[8] University of California Museum of Anthropology phonograph number 14–1505; words transcribed by A. L. Kroeber, translated by Thomas Odoek. Said to be the composition of the singer, Salvador. *Tcoli mūhī* means "inanimate-object-standing-erect song," that is, pole or stump song.

fall very slowly, and blew two short blasts upon a double bone whistle, *tōka*. He then turned completely around, made another circuit about the pole, and repeated the same cry, motions, and whistling at the same point as before, but facing in turn south, east, and north. Next, he circled rapidly four times round the pole, continuously blowing short

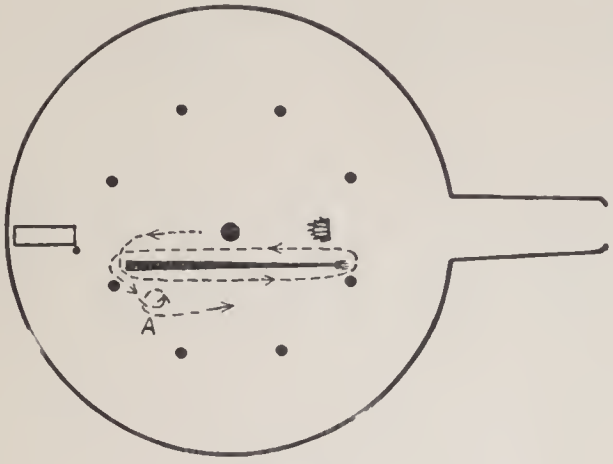

Figure 1

Ritualistic course of the director's assistant before removal of the long pole from the dance house.

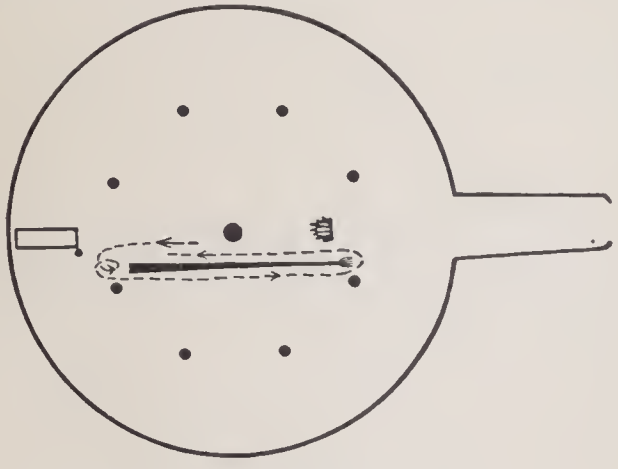

Figure 2

Second course about the pole.

blasts on his whistle, stopped at the foot of the pole, made a motion to pick it up, and turned completely around. This he also did four times (fig. 2). The fifth time, he actually picked the pole up, carried it out, circled four times about the hole prepared for it, stopped on the east, held the pole up toward the west, turned himself around, and repeated, extending the pole south, east, and northward. He now walked once

around the hole and pointed the base of the pole at it four times. The fifth time, he actually inserted the butt and tamped it firmly into place. He then joined the director, and the pair, facing the now erected pole, sang the following *tcupa* song for several minutes:

Tcupa Song[9]

The refrain, indicated in the text by "A," is:

tcenti′	weni′	tcenwe′r	tcenwe′r
down	arrive	down-come	down-come

A[10]
wile leluro mi
A
mato wole na
A
tcalal wole wole
tcalal wole na weni
A
wile leluro
A
tcalal wole wole Lami
A
mato wole wole Lami
A
wile leluro
A
mato wole Lami
A
tcalal wole Lami
A[11]

Crying "*hē*," the pair sang a few more words of the song, and then called "*he, he, he, he*," bending themselves toward the pole four times.

This entire act of setting the pole is said to be a notification to *Katit* and his associates among the dead that the preparations had been made and that the Hesi was about to be celebrated as directed.

The director now resumed his singing in the same place, while his assistant entered the dance house for the rain fetish and the food fetish. The former was the above mentioned four-foot, wrapped pole, tufted with cloth and feathers; the latter, the cloth-covered cylinder. Feathers tied to projections at the top of this gave it somewhat the appearance of a high crown. The bringing out of these two objects was attended with much less ceremony. The assistant merely carried

[9] Record 14–1506, Odock-Kroeber transcription. Composed by Salvador.

[10] This refrain frequently occurs three or four times over in the song where "A" has been written only once. Many of the other phrases are repeated.

[11] Glossary: *wile*, healthy; *leluro*, make, become; *mi*, you; *mato*, your; *tcalal*, rose, pretty, beautiful; *wole*, floor of dance house; *weni*, arrive.

them on the roof of the dance house (blowing his double whistle continuously, while the director sang), and circled sixteen times about the roof around a diameter of twenty or twenty-five feet, holding the fetishes up in the four usual directions once after each four revolutions. However, he extended them toward the north four times instead of once. He then set the stick in the roof a little northwest of the center, slipped the cylinder over the stick on the roof, descended, still blowing his whistle, rejoined the director, and sang with him for a short time.

The director now went into the dance house and set about preparing his ceremonial cloak and certain dance paraphernalia.

Two assistants meanwhile set the three smaller poles at the ends of the feasting table, with the following procedure. All three poles were first leaned against the eastern end of the table and a sub-assistant, standing a short distance off, began to sing the *tcupa* song. He accompanied with a split stick instead of the cocoon rattle, but it is said that this substitution had no significance. The chief assistant passed contra-clockwise four times around the table and poles, turned completely round, reversed his direction, circled about four times clockwise, and turned again, all the time blowing rapidly upon his double whistle. He then took the two poles which were to be set east of the table, and carried them four times around in each of the same directions, waving them four times over the table after each set of circlings. He then passed four times around the holes dug for them, turned himself around again, motioned four times as if to set them, turned again, then put them in, passed four times around both, turned once more, and finally took a position beside the singer and accompanied him for a minute or two. They then both cried "*yū*," sang a few moments more, and ended with "*ha, ha, ha, ha*," bending toward the poles with each syllable.

The pole for the western end of the table was then taken up and set with the same cycle of movements and songs. This placing of the poles ended shortly after noon of May 5.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE FIRST DANCE

About two o'clock, the director went on the roof of the dance house and cried a prolonged and loud "*hē*" successively in the four ritual directions, waiting fifteen or twenty minutes between each call. This crying is said to have notified *Katit* as well as the Indians present that the preparations were complete. Returned to the dance house, the

director continued his work on the dance regalia until about sundown, when he ascended again to the roof and cried as before, this time with even greater force.

In the early part of the evening of May 5, the fire was lighted in the dance house and kept burning low. About nine o'clock the people of the village (the visitors having not yet arrived) assembled inside, while four men dressed themselves for the dance just outside the rear or western door of the house. Three of these men wore the *tūya* costume or "big-head," as it is currently called in English, and the fourth the *tcelītū*.

THE TUYA

The chief feature of the *tūya* is a skull cap or *ana*,[12] of shredded tule (*Lol*) into which are stuck a large number of long, slender willow rods, decorated with feathers. These plumes are called *tcalal*, "roses," and the whole head-dress, *saltū*.[13] This is often three feet in diameter and half as high. The plumes mostly pointed forward, and those in front downward, hiding the face of the dancer. Frequently also, small twigs are stuck into the front of the tule cap so as to hang down directly in front of the face and complete its concealment. Among the plumes, four, called *kĕwĕ*, of extra length and with special feathering, are forced down through the tule cap and into the wearer's head net or *tīcin*, thus serving to keep the entire head-dress in place. One or more skewers (*paka*) also hold the cap to the net. From another skewer at the back there hang a pair of long yellowhammer quill bands (*pīt*), almost reaching to the ground and floating out in the rapid motions of the dance. About the neck is suspended a small double whistle, *tōka*, usually made of wing bones of the chicken hawk.

The body of the *tūya* dancer is bare to the waist. Formerly, only a clout was worn below. At present, some article of civilized clothing is worn about the lower part of the body, with an improvised clout, such as a bandana handkerchief, tied over it. From the waist to the knee there is a kind of skirt made of thin cloth, on which are sewed variously shaped bits of cloth of different colors. This is a degenerate substitute for the feather skirt of the old days.

In ancient times, the exposed parts of the body were painted black with *sīka*,[14] paint of charcoal or black mud. There were no definite

[12] "Head."

[13] At least so informants stated. As *saltū* means "spirit" they were evidently naming the head-dress as the most distinctive feature of the impersonation.

[14] Southeastern Wintun: *sika*, grizzly bear; also the name of a ceremony among these people.

designs, whole areas such as the face or chest being colored, although narrow bands were sometimes drawn. This body decoration seems not to have had any special signification. At present very little painting is done.

A split stick rattle, *tcakatta*, in each hand completes the outfit of the *tūya* dancer, except that in certain cases the wrists are bound together with a stout cord. Only certain individuals have their wrists tied. The Indian explanation of the practice is that it prevents cramps due to the violence of the dancing.

In this first dance, two of the three *tūya* danced in their tule caps, the feathered rods for the head-dresses not having been completed in time.

THE TCELITU

The fourth of the company, the *tcelītū*, who was to start and stop the *tūya* dancers and direct their movements, wore neither the large head-dress nor the imitation feather skirt. He had on a down-filled head net (*pūte*) and toward the back of the top of the head a tuft of magpie feathers (*toiti*) fastened with skewers. Across his forehead he wore a "short" yellowhammer head band (*talūk*) and about his neck a necklace (*hīLī*). His body was bare to the waist. In his left hand he carried a bow, (*nūn*), and in his right a quiver (*koltcis*), containing arrows (*nūko*). At least he carried them constructively. In reality, a skin folded over a stick represented the quiver full of arrows, and another stick the bow.

THE FIRST TUYA DANCE

At about ten o'clock, everything being in readiness, the dancers blew their whistles and the director and others who were inside the dance house cried "*hē*" and commenced a song, to which the dancers stepped in time as they circled about the point where they had dressed outside the dance house. This circle was about fifty feet in diameter, and after four revolutions, all went to the front door, where they rattled their split sticks loudly and finally entered. They then marched, without dancing, four times around the floor, going as near as possible to the side posts which divided the space reserved for dancing from that occupied by the spectators (see fig. 3). They next marched once around the center pole alone, after which the three *tūya* went out into the tunnel of the front door and later, upon receiving a

signal from the *tcelītū,* daneed back into the main part of the house, just as they would dance in during an ordinary danee, which is usually not preceded by the circling about the inside of the dance house.

The music for this danee was furnished by one or more air singers, called *koltū,* provided with cocoon rattles, several burden or chorus singers, called *tcokīwin,* each provided with a split stick rattle, and one or sometimes two drummers, called *tīnel,* who usually stamp with their bare feet upon the large hollowed section of a log used as a drum (*tcobok*). Sometimes the drummers use a large stick (*tok*), which they strike vertically upon the drum much as a workman uses a tamper. The positions about the drum of these three classes of musicians are shown in figure 3; the air singers are designated by two small triangles, the chorus singers by a number of small crosses, and the drummers by two squares upon the drum itself. The air singers carry the melody, accompanying it with the swishing sound of their cocoon rattles, while the chorus adds volume with a loud "*he, he, he,*" accompanied by the clack of the split sticks upon the palms of the left hands.

The signal to begin is given by the *tcelītū* with a motion of his quiver. After the singing of what might be termed an introductory verse, he signals one of the *tūya* to dance. This the dancer does by suddenly whirling around from his position in the tunnel and moving very rapidly with high steps back and forth between the two side posts nearest the door (fig. 3, MN). He dances in a bent posture with his stick rattles extended before him and crossed lightly near their free ends. Thus, the lower half of the upper and the upper half of the lower rattle form the bases upon which the other halves of the rattles strike in their vibrations. They are shaken at frequent intervals, the dancer usually squatting very low as he rattles. As he reaches either end of his short course, he squats low and whirls suddenly about and dances rapidly to the opposite end. His long yellowhammer streamers are thus thrown out and float and flutter behind him as he moves from end to end. At the same time he shakes his head from side to side in time with the music to keep the long plumes of his head-dress trembling, especially when he rattles.

The *tcelītū* meanwhile stands at the back of the dance house, near the singers, and, when he deems it proper, gives the signal for the change in the dance. This he does by running up to the singers with his "quiver" high in the air and bringing it suddenly down with a loud and long "*hīyō,*" the chorus singers bowing and shouting in unison with him. The air singers, however, continue their melody uninterruptedly, and the chorus is immediately taken up again. The

tcelītū then dances, with the high rapid step already mentioned, back and forth directly in front of the singers' space (fig. 3, XY) for a few minutes, after which he runs rapidly to the singers and shouts "*hīyō*" one or more times, bringing his quiver down and bending his body as before. Most frequently he gives this signal as "*hīyō, hīyo, hīyō, hīyō,*" the last utterances being longest and most emphatic. Again the chorus singers shout in unison with him, all facing the air singers. The latter still continue their air and are again rejoined by the chorus as the *tcelītū* resumes his dance, which he does for some minutes over the same course as before. After this he moves out along the north side of the dance house (fig. 3, XZ), beckoning with his quiver toward the *tūya*, who all this time has been dancing rapidly back and forth over his course between the two front side posts of the house.

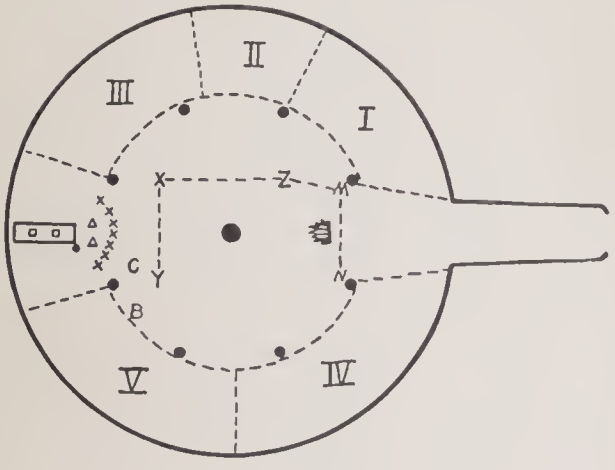

Figure 3

I Wintun visitors from Indian creek and Little Stony creek.
II Pomo visitors from Sulphur Bank.
III Wintun visitors from Long valley and Cache Creek.
IV Wintun visitors from the Sacramento river region.
V Host villagers.
□ Drummers.
Δ Air singers.
× Burden singers.
B Fire tender.
C Moki delivering ceremonial speeches.

Now the *tūya* moves out along the north side of the dance house (fig. 3, MZ), until he meets the *tcelītū* at z nearly opposite the fire. Here the two turn to face the fire and dance in place for a considerable time, this dance consisting simply of a rapid and forceful stamping of first one foot and then the other, the bodies being held erect. The chorus increases the volume of its shouts, and the drummer beats

harder. This loud music continues until suddenly the *tcelītū* wheels about and runs to the singers with the same motion and cry of *hīyō* as before, the *tūya* also wheeling about, running to his place between the two front posts, and resuming his former dance.

From this point on the same cycle is performed, except that upon this occasion the director finally dances to the south side and is met by the *tūya*, the two dancing there as before on the north side. Finally the *tcelītū* again wheels suddenly, and runs to the singers with his usual cry of "*hīyō,*" and calls "*ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha,*" letting his voice fall gradually. This marks the end of this particular set of the dance.

The *tūya* immediately resumes his stooping posture in the entrance tunnel, from which presently he, or one of his fellows, may be called forth to dance the same set over again, or from which, if the dance is to be ended, he may be summoned, either by the *tcelītū's* voice or by a tap on his back by the quiver, to return into the main part of the dance house.

In the case of the dance ending, he backs, in his stooping posture, into the house until he reaches a point between the first two side posts, when he straightens up and walks at a medium pace to a point north of the center post. Here he whirls, rattling, walks to the corresponding position south of the center pole, whirls and shakes his rattles again. Then he walks out the front door and, once outside, runs to the dressing place, which at night is near by, but in the day is in the brush far enough from the dance house to be out of sight. In passing out, he lays his rattles over his head to press down the long plumes, so that they may not catch on the sides of the tunnel and break off. In entering he also backs in, since the plumes project forward.

Only one of the *tūya* dances at a time, and usually each performs but once in any one dance, going through the above described set or cycle completely. This requires from fifteen to twenty minutes. If there are several *tūya*, the second is usually called by the *tcelītū* immediately after the first has returned to the tunnel, and so on until each of them has completed his set. When touched by the *tcelītū's* quiver, they leave the dance house as described above, but the song is kept up.

As soon as the *tūya* have passed out, the chorus singers and the *tcelītū* dance out, with a short, high, sidewise step, in two lines, one along the north and one along the south side of the house. The step consists in simply lifting the feet very high and bringing them down with force, and in no case does such a step move a dancer more than

six or eight inches. Having finally reached a point opposite the fire and center post, the two lines, facing each other, dance in place for perhaps a minute or two, using the same step but without the sidewise progression. Suddenly, the *tcelītū* runs rapidly to the air singers, who are still singing in front of the drum, raises his quiver, and brings it down violently with his usual cry of "*hīyō.*" to mark the ending. Throughout this dance, the air singers are accompanied only by a low "*he, he, he.*" of the dancing chorus.

The *tcelītū* immediately runs back to his position in one or the other of the lines of dancing chorus singers and the dance continues. In fact, the chorus has not ceased dancing during the time he has been running back and forth. After another minute or two, they all start, at a signal from the *tcelītū*, to dance back sidewise toward the drum. When about half way, they suddenly break and run to a position in front of the air singers, where they all shout "*hīyō.*" bending their bodies almost double. This marks the end of the dance and the music ceases. The *tcelītū* walks out leisurely.

At frequent intervals during all this dancing, the spectators cry a prolonged "*ō!*" to signify their approval of the dance. At the very end they all call "*ō!*" loudly at least once, and some repeat the cry several times, proportionate to their satisfaction.

One of these dances lasts usually from twenty minutes to half an hour or considerably more, its duration depending chiefly on the number of *tūya* participating. The motions are violent, and a dancer is usually more or less exhausted at the end of his set, and cannot continue throughout the night. At the present time, when the population is reduced, and dancers few, a considerable intermission between one dance and the next is therefore necessary. Anciently, however, several sets of *tūya*, each with its *tcelītū*, are said to have been available, so that as one set finished, another was ready to take its place. Thus the dance was kept up almost continuously throughout night and day, intermissions for feasts being ordinarily the only breaks in the continuity of the dances. The first *tūya* dance, on May 5, having three *tūya* and a *tcelītu*, lasted about an hour.

THE MOKI DANCE

At the conclusion of the *tūya*, the director put on his long cloak, thus becoming *mōkī* and, as the dancers left, commenced the first of his ceremonial orations. He danced four times around the inside of the house, constantly blowing his double whistle, and finally halted

near the rear of the dance house opposite the *koīmērū* or fire tender. The positions of the two are shown in figure 3, C, B. Here he delivered a long speech in a high-keyed, squeaky voice, occasionally bowing forward or to the sides or settling slightly downward under his cloak, these motions being for emphasis and apparently in lieu of gestures with the hands, which are the ordinary Wintun means of emphasizing speech. This oration was intended for all, but was addressed to the fire tender, who frequently cried "*ō!*" in approval. On completing his oration, the *mōkī* circled around the inside of the dance house once and finally went to a place near the drum and removed his long cloak.

Mōkī, as the director is called when covered by his long cloak and speaking in his high voice, is the same term as is used to designate a class of clowns, who in certain parts of the ceremony amuse themselves and the spectators by mimicking dancers, singers, drummers, and spectators.

The *mōkī*, in modern times, represents a messenger from the keeper of the abode of the dead, delivering his messages and instructing the people in order that they may be provided with an abundance of food, the supply of which depends upon their conduct. He also addresses himself to the keeper of the dead and pleads, as it were, the cause of his people. It could not be found that he represented a mythical being.

After the *mōkī's* first speech, an intermission of about an hour followed. The spectators engaged in conversation most of the time.

ORATION

Then, a number of visitors having arrived, the director rose and, this time without his *mōkī* cloak, delivered another oration—a speech of welcome. This he subsequently spoke into a phonograph, as follows:

Tabat tē'wi, Speech of Welcome[15]

ō	ō	pīūrū[16]	botī					
Yes,	yes.	All	stay.					
pīūrū	pīūrū	bote	colec	mīlet	lomūle			
All	all	stay,	listen	you	glad,			
apatcū	bûm	maiin	bûm	sektō	ma			
my uncles,		chief's wives or sisters,		chiefs,				
īlaiinma	pīūrū	bote	ēū	pī	bo	tcū	ēū	pī
my children.	All	stay	thus,			I	thus,	

[15] Record 14-1518. Transcribed by the author and translated by Salvador and Frank Wright.

[16] *Pīūrū*, said to be an esoteric term signifying "all," *awe* in ordinary speech.

bo tcū ēū bo tcū pī ēū bo
I thus, I thus,

etc ma tēwe bûm pampa ma tēwe sī
one word two words.

mīlet lomūro apatcuba nat hūn lōība
You glad my uncles. Me girls

nat hūn pī ma wīn tara dīhūse
me see . Wake up,

dīhūse tcū dīhuse tcū pītara ōū pītara
wake up, I wake up, I , yes

botc ō pītara botc ēū bū wēī ēū
stay, yes stay, this . Thanks! This

rū hūya ēū kcwcLa ēū walcLa pīLa pīūrū botc
feast this house-in, this floor-on there in all stay

pīūrū bote colcc ūu colcc ūn manū
all stay listen , listen , my

tēwe
words.

poī elēLaō sektun elēLaō maino
Who none chiefs, none chief's wives,

elēLaō po pomī let pīūtī ū
none who will do that

pūtī ūrbe[17] win līptūra wiu hatara
Nothing people dying, people going,

piLa pe ēū tī piLa wē ūn
there there things ,

wē ūpīretī ō ūpīretī ō ūpiris
things everybody, yes everybody, yes everybody,

a pelc eū ra wilak wilak Labe
we this world world villages,

eūLa nō ībo ewīLa pūel[18] tībo cuLa
then go there east there

waiel[18] tībo cuLa nōmel[18] tībo cūLa wor[18]
north there west there south

īna bo ōū pīūtara botī wē ū
. Thus be things

piūtara botī pīLa pelc pīū botī eū
thus be, here we thus remain, this

botc pele bo' elecū ūpūra mīlet mīlet
remain we stay, nothing (I) tell you, you

lōmūra[19] mīlet cektū ma lōmūra mīlet
glad, you chiefs glad, you

main ma lōmūra mīlet scribama lōmūra
chief's wives glad, you boys glad,

[17] *Urbe* means "nothing" in the Central Wintun dialect. Southwestern Wintun says *elec.*

[18] *Pūi'be, waibe, nombe, woribe,* east, north, west, south.

[19] *Lōmī,* "glad"; *ōūpiri boli* "glad" in ceremonial speech.

wē	ūpīreti[20]	ō	ūpīretī	ō	ūpīrī	
"thanks"	tell one another,	"Yes"	tell one another	"Yes"	tell one another	
sa	pele	pele	ōū	pīrēsa	ūpūto	ūpūra
.	We,	we	"Yes"	say	tell you,	tell
momūpīreta[21]	ūpūra	cok[22]	pīlīta	heteama	pele	
everybody,	tell			how many	we	
cūsai	pīūsa	pele	pīūsa	piuLa	pelepo	
do that,	do that,	we	do that		we ourselves	
loitano	ēlēLaū	po	seri	tana	ēlēLaū	pī
girls themselves	none	who	boys	dance,	none	these
temano	ēlēLaū	pī	yōhos[23]	ne	ēlēLaū	
dancers themselves	none	this	announcer,		none	
pī	Lūpī	tono	ēlēLau[24]	pīūsa	pele	
this	tūya	daneers	none	do that,	we	
pīūsa	ōū	sa	pele	ōū	petara	wē
do that,	yes		we			"thanks"
ūpītara	Lan	ūpītara	tē	ūpītara	o	
call one another,	"brothers, sisters"	call one another,	"sons"	call one another,	yes	
tai	o	tai	ūpīreti	ūpīreti		
"nephews, nieces,"	yes	"nephews, nieces"	call one another,	eall one another.		

SECOND TUYA DANCE

About midnight, eame another *tūya* with his direetor, and a seeond danee was held in exaetly the same manner as that previously deseribed. This ended about half past twelve. The people remained to talk and amuse themselves in the danee house during the remainder of the night or, as they ehose, went to their houses to rest before the ceremonies of the following day.

SECOND DAY

SWEAT DANCE

A little before sunrise, several men, partieularly those who had partieipated in the danees of the night before, gathered in the danee house for the "fire" or "sweat" danee, ealled *tcûppa*. A very hot fire was built and the doors and smoke hole tightly elosed. The

[20] *Upireti, upirita*, and *tīpirita* are said to be esoteric terms meaning "tell one another," *pirti* signifying "each other" in common speech.

[21] *Momūpīrēta* is an esoteric term for *tcakct*, "everybody."

[22] *Upūra* is a ceremonial term, while *cok* or *coko* has the same signification in common speech.

[23] The *yōhos* is the announcer who delivers an oration from the roof of the danee house as visitors approach the village.

[24] *I.c.*, the *yōhos* is not here, nor are the *tūya*.

dancers stripped themselves of all clothing except an improvised clout and danced slowly about the fire in time to the song and rattle of a single singer. Their motions were very slow and the feet raised but little off the ground. The body was swung from side to side considerably, so that at each step a different part of the body was presented to the heat. The dancers also bent over the fire first forward and then sidewise in such manner as to expose themselves to the heat, while each rubbed his body rapidly. At the end of perhaps twenty minutes, during which the temperature had grown intense, the dancers, now in profuse perspiration, rushed out and plunged into the creek. In plate 2, figure 1, two of these dancers are shown returning after their plunge.

RECEPTION OF VISITORS

Nothing else took place until the entry of the guests. These were Wintun from the Sacramento river, largely or wholly from Grimes; from three villages along North Cache creek and Long Valley creek; and from three villages along Indian and Little Stony creeks to the north. The only people other than Wintun who came, were a few Pomo from Sulphur Bank or East Lake, one of the arms of Clear Lake, who are more or less in touch with the Wintun living along North Cache creek.

All the visitors had arrived the evening before and made their camps at short distances from the village. Those from the west and north camped a short distance northwest of the village, while those coming from the Sacramento river, camped to the east.

About half past eight, the director went on the roof of the dance house and gave his long cry "*hē*" to the four cardinal points, to call in the visitors. It is doubtful whether this cry could have been heard, but at any rate in a short time those camped to the northwest came in sight. Meanwhile the "captain," as he is called, that is, the chief of the host village, the one who exercises whatever there are of gubernatorial functions, joined the director on the roof of the dance house. He took his station just below the smoke hole and sang for a considerable time, accompanying with two cocoon rattles. When the visitors from the northwest appeared, the director gave several of his long-drawn cries of "*hē*" toward them. The "captain" continued his song. On arriving at the outer edge of the settlement, the visitors halted, left their horses and traveling equipage, and advanced toward the dance house, the inhabitants of each visiting village forming in

single file, each group led by its captain who carried a present from them to the people of Let, the host village. These lines coming one after another formed a long continuous file of people with only slight breaks between the successive groups. The captain of the host village continued to sing on top of the dance house (pl. 2, fig. 2) until the head of the column neared the entrance, when he descended and led the way, still singing, into the dance house. He led the column contra-clockwise around the fire and center pole, and finally took up his station near the drum, the visitors going directly to the particular portion of the spectators' areas allotted them at the side of the dance house. As each column filed past the singing captain, its leader stopped and presented him with the gift brought by his people for those of the village giving the ceremony. These gifts the host captain placed near the wall behind the drum where most of the dancing paraphernalia were kept. The presents consisted usually of strings of beads, though sometimes ropes of native milkweed fiber or other objects were brought.

The last of the column was a very old shaman or dance leader from the village of *Tōktī* on North Cache creek. He came at some little distance from the rest and instead of going directly with his people to the side of the dance house, he moved, singing and rattling with cocoons, four times contra-clockwise around the inside of the house and then once in the same direction about the center pole alone, before seating himself with his companions.

At last, all visitors being seated, the host captain brought in a large basket full of acorn soup, *yīwit*, and a large cake of black meal, *hūle*, made from the seeds of one of the wild plants of the region. These he presented to the leader of the visitors, who saw to it that each one received his share.

The host captain then rejoined the director on the roof of the dance house, there to await the arrival of the people from the Sacramento river. Presently shouting was heard from behind a hill to the south-east, which was a signal that the visitors were on their way from that quarter, and also that they were dancing into the village instead of filing in like their predecessors. Upon hearing the shouts the director gave his usual long "*hē*," and the captain began to sing again. Presently a *tūya* dancer, followed at a little distance by his *tcelītū*, came over the brow of the hill toward the village, followed at some distance by their captain and the remainder of the people walking slowly in single file.

TUYA DANCE

On arriving at the door, the two dancers conducted themselves as is customary. The *tūya* stopped before the door and shook his rattle several times. The *tcelītū*, however, did not immediately enter, as is the custom in an ordinary dance, but also waited without until the last of the visitors from his region had been led in and properly placed and provided with food by the captain of the host village. The singers then assembled before the drum, the *tcelītū* entered, and the dancing proceeded as on the evening before.

CLOWNS

With this dance was introduced a new feature. As the dance progressed, several men, apparently without any special dress or preparations, went about in the dance house speaking in a very high-keyed voice, similar to that of the director when he becomes *mōkī*. They made all manner of fun of the dancers, the singers, the drummers, and any of the spectators that they might single out. These clowns are also called *mōkī*. As above stated, however, it is maintained by the Indians that the office of these clowns is purely that of amusing the people.

The antics which these clowns perform are sometimes genuinely ludicrous. For instance, at one time later in the day, when the captain of the host village was singing as he marched slowly about the inside of the dance house, one of the clowns stationed himself before the captain and marched slowly backwards in step with him, while delivering joking remarks concerning the latter's ability to sing and the particular song he was voicing, and in general endeavoring to give a comical turn to what otherwise would have been a most solemn ceremony. This did not seem in the least to disconcert the singer, who continued to sing in his gravest manner; but his song was not received with the usual seriousness.

These clowns enter into ceremonies among the Pomo to the west, where they are called (by the Eastern Pomo), *katsa'tala*[24a] and act much as here described, although the Hesi ceremony is not known. The Maidu clown is called *pcheipe*.[25]

The dance having been completed, the captain caused to be brought in several baskets of acorn soup and an abundance of other food, and all feasted in the dance house.

[24a] Sergeants-at-arms, fine collectors, and clowns. Present series XII, 417–421, 1917.

[25] R. B. Dixon, The Northern Maidu, Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., XVII, 286, 310, 315, 318, 1905.

ALLOTMENT OF DANCE HOUSE PLACES

The parts of the dance house (*ʟūl*) used for special purposes were in this ceremony as follows. The portion of the floor (*wole*) within the line of side posts was reserved for the dancers and singers, the singers occupying the space in the rear and immediately in front of the drum. Different dances were held in several parts of the floor as described previously and below. The space back of the side posts (*dorī*) was divided into five sections of varying sizes, each allotted to the spectators from a certain place. In figure 3 are shown these five divisions.

SINGING BY INVITED INDIVIDUALS

After the feast held in the dance house, the people gave themselves over to conversation and visiting for some time, while the clowns continued their business to the amusement of all. Finally the individual singing began, partly, at any rate, as a result of the clowns' actions. They are privileged to levy a fine on one who does anything contrary to custom, and especially upon those who show displeasure at their ridicule or refuse to do their bidding. When, therefore, they ask some one to sing, he must accede or pay a fine. It is said that nearly all individual singing is due to the commands of the clowns.

A singer provides himself with two short cocoon rattles which he uses one in each hand. They are grasped firmly between the thumb and first finger and are shaken by means of a movement of the wrist. Another movement is given them by means of the second, third and fourth fingers, which tap upon the handle as it projects down into the hand. The invited performer sings for some minutes wherever he happens to be sitting, then rises and walks to a position on the south side of the dancing area and a little back of the center pole (fig. 3, Y). Here he sings for some minutes, pacing back and forth in one direction or another over a short course. He then walks rapidly over to the point marked N in figure 3, where he again sings for some time; then goes to M and sings for some minutes; then to X, and finally to Y again, singing at each of these stations as described. He then either goes directly to his seat, or repeats the cycle. In any case, when he arrives at his seat he turns completely around before sitting down, after which he continues singing for some minutes.

While this is the commonest method, some singers go round and round the dancing area counter-clockwise, moving continually with a slow step and not stopping at the four points above mentioned.

When a singer begins, a loud shout goes up, each person in the house shouting "*ō.*" When he arises, a still louder chorus of the same indication of approval is heard; and at frequent intervals during the song similar shouts from one or more people in different parts of the house are audible. On taking his seat, he is greeted again, and on the ending of his song, he receives the loudest applause of all.

Any one may be asked by the elowns to sing and is expected to respond. But in practice only men known to be proficient singers are called upon. Their songs are said to be private and more or less hereditary from father to son. It is asserted that such songs are not and were not formerly learned from the inhabitants of the ghost world or the keeper *Katit*, though the latter teaches other songs. The individual or private songs show some variety. Three examples follow. The words of these were written down during the ceremony, but it proved impossible to obtain phonographic records.

Individual Song 1

hōlūū dū hwēē	hōlūlū dū hwīī (4 times)
watōhōōna wīlak mee	hōlō wee walēī hēme (4 times)
halūū dū hwēī	halūū dū hēha (4 times)
(Repeat)	

Individual Song 2

nanīⁿ hēⁿ 'hīla hīhye	nanīⁿ hēⁿ 'hīla hīhye (4 times)
wīnīī hīla hehye	winīī hīla hehye (4 times)
wīlēē hīla hehye	wīlēē hila hehye (4 times)
wai wai hīla wēwē	wai wai hīla wēwē (4 times)
(Repeat)	

Individual Song 3

haiīe walēīhō	haiīē walēīhō (twice)
wīhwala walēīhō	
haiīē walēīhō	haiīē walēīhō (twice)
(Repeat)	

It will be seen that these songs are simple. Some consist merely of a phrase or two repeated a definite number of times, usually four. Often this set is repeated over and over again throughout the song. In more elaborate songs the first set or "stanza" of a four-times repeated phrase is followed by another with more or less different words, and so through perhaps three or four stanzas, after which the whole group of stanzas is indefinitely reiterated, sometimes for half an hour or longer. It is maintained that the words have no meaning, though now and then a word, such as *wīlak*, "world," is recognizable. It is possible that more of these words may at one time have had meanings, but that, like parts of the speeches of the *mōkī*, they are esoteric or archaic. In the speeches, however, only some of the terms are of this

nature, and the bulk of the orations is intelligible to the Wintun public. However, it is certain that in both songs and speeches some at least of the terms used are esoteric and have meanings definitely known to the initiated.

VISITORS' TUYA DANCE

About half past eleven, two of the visitors from the Sacramento river, a *tūya* and a *tcelītū*, performed the second dance of the day, which lasted some twenty minutes.

FEAST ORATION

After this, the midday feast was served at the long table under the trees near the dance house (pl. 1, fig. 4). When the meal was ready, the director made a long speech of welcome exhorting the visitors to eat heartily and enjoy themselves.

Ba Tcema, Food Speech[26]

o'u, yes
we'reti (3), come on!
we'reti, come on!
lo'iba we'reti (2), girls come on!
se'riba we'reti, youths come on!
i'lain we'reti, children come on!
ba'La huya'lis (2), at eating assembled
e'u ba'La, at this eating
e'u ba'La huya'lis, at this eating assembled
e'u kori'La huya'lis, at this *pinole* assembled
e'u yiwi'La hnya'lis, at this acorn-soup assembled
e'u tipa'La huya'lis, at this acorn-bread assembled
mile' o'upi'ni, you say yes to one another
o'upini (2), say yes to one another
pi'La piu'roti, will be doing that
ta'i npi'reti, will (call one another) sister's child (or grandchild)
pi ba'La, at eating that
wile ba'La huya'ro, at healthy eating assemble
pi ba'La hnya'ro e'u ba'La huya'ro, at eating that assemble, at eating this assemble
e'u tca'lal ba'La huya'ro, at this pleasant eating assemble
e'u wile ba'La huya'ro, at this healthy eating assemble
pi'La o'u u'pitaro ba'ti, at that say yes to one another's eating
o'u pitaro ba'ti (2), say yes to one another's eating
we yu'pini, rejoice at one another
we a'pateu u'ro, rejoice: "my mother's brother"

[26] Record 14–1498, Odock-Kroeber transcription. Each line of the text represents a phrase or separate ejaculation. A number indicates that the phrase is repeated so many times.

we ta'teu u'ro, rejoice: "my father"
we La'nteu u'ro, rejoice: "my younger brother"
upu'taro ba'ti, say thus to one another's eating
weyu'ti, rejoice
mile't ba'mahem, (at) him who causes you to eat
milet do'ihem, (at) him who gives to you
ba do'ihem, (at) him who gives food
e kori' do'ihem, who gives this *pinole*
e tipa' do'ihem, who gives this acorn-bread
pi'La lomu'ti, at that be glad
pi'La lomu'ti pi, at that be glad
piu weyu'ro, so rejoice
mile't weyu'ro, rejoice for you
ta'iteu ba'uro, my sister's children (eat?)
La'nteu ba'uro, my younger brothers (eat?)
pi'uro ba'ti (3), doing so eat
tap mile' ila'in, you children
mile' lo'iba, mile seri'ba, you girls, you youths
mile' ila'in, you children
pi'uro ba'ti, so eat
pi'uro katu'les, so satisfied
katu'ro weyu'les, satisfied rejoice
katu'ro weyu'les, satisfied say yes
u'no te'we, his word
u'no te'we u'no so'ko, his word, his teaching
u'i mile't sokohem, he who teaches you
pi'uro ba'ti (4), so eat!

The feasting was in the following order. First were served the visitors who arrived earliest at the village, that is, as many as could be seated at the table, the remainder eating at the second table. Third came the visitors who had arrived later, and finally, at the fourth and last table, the people of the home village ate. The food was all prepared by the women of the village in their houses and was brought to the table by three or four men. In general, this serving of food was under the direction of the fire tender of the dance house.

FURTHER TUYA, SWEAT, AND MOKI DANCES

Immediately after this meal, which ended about two o'clock, a third *tūya* was held in the dance house, along the same lines as those previously described. Later, at half past five, a fourth dance was made. An evening feast with attendant speeches began at six.

After this meal, a hot fire was again built in the dance house and three men, who had participated in the dancing during the day, danced another fire or sweat dance to the music of the two singers. Toward the last of their dance, the *mōkī* danced once around the floor, then

outdoors, and several times around the high pole in front of the dance house, the while blowing his whistle constantly. Soon after he left the dance house for his dance about the pole, the three dancers ran out to the creek, swam for a few minutes, and returned to the house.

About ten o'clock, the first *tūya* dance of the night was held, being followed before morning by several others, all about the same as those described.

THIRD DAY

MORNING DANCES

About five in the morning another sweat dance was held, immediately after which the *mōkī* danced, as before, slowly about the dancing floor and out the front door, and then performed a ceremony about the high pole (see pl. 1, fig. 3). He danced about the pole several times in a sort of shambling trot, finally coming to a halt on its east, that is, on the side away from the dance house, facing this. Here he settled slowly down, waving his cloak with his hands, until he had come to a squatting position, where he remained for some seconds blowing his whistle. He then slowly arose with the same fluttering of his cloak, circled the pole, and again settled down, this time facing toward the south, he being on the north side of the pole. This circling and facing were repeated in the usual sequence, that is, east and finally north. He next danced over to the table, around which he danced four times (pl. 1, fig. 4), after which he danced about the poles at the east end of the table. Finally, coming to a stop to the east of the poles, and facing them and the table, he settled down as he had done about the high pole in front of the dance house. He then danced around to the west end of the table and once around the high pole there, stopping to face it from the west. Here he again settled, after which he danced back into the dance house, passing on the north side, or contra-clockwise along the dancing floor, to the drum where, as usual, he removed his cloak.

About half past six, breakfast was served at the long table in the usual manner after another speech by the director.

SPEECHES OF INSTRUCTION

About half past nine, the director took up a position in front of the dance house and near the high pole and here delivered a long oration. This oration, as also those that followed during the afternoon, exhorted the people to live properly and in accordance with the instructions

recently received by the director from *Katit*. These instructions were to recount to them the history of the world and outline the reasons why it was in its present condition; and also to tell its future and the ultimate destiny of mankind.

From a summary of the ideas expressed in these speeches, as rendered at the time by one of the Indian auditors, it appears that the conceptions of the Wintun in respect to the world are as follows.[27] The world originally had a different form, but in those days there were comparatively few people. Later, as its population increased, the earth was stretched to accommodate the people and for a time all things went satisfactorily. Again the population grew, the world became crowded, and the earth was stretched; thus it has up to the present time been enlarged four times. The last time its form was materially changed and the present mountains were created. There is to be a fifth and final upheaval and stretching, which will bring these mountains down and render the world a level plain as is the Wintun abode of the dead. To be sure, the Wintun population has, since the coming of the whites, greatly decreased, but the influx of Americans has greatly increased the population of the region, so that the country is very crowded at present, and it is expected that this final great world change may come at any time. When the earthquake of April 18, 1906, was felt, it was considered part of this final upheaval, and especially was the belief confirmed when the Wintun saw the effect on upper Cache creek, which drains Clear lake. Here a body of earth, large enough to block the passage of the stream, slid into the canyon, backing the water up into the lake itself. After a time the pressure broke through the dam and carried the débris down in a great flood through Capay and the other valleys along the lower course of Cache creek. The stream lies but a few miles to the south of the Cortina valley village and the flood had occurred only three days before, so that considerable excitement was still running among the Indians at the time the director was preaching to them.

Another feature which had recently inspired the Wintun of the region with awe was the immense mass of smoke which was visible to them from the San Francisco fire. Some said that at night even the glare of the fire could be seen. By many it was feared that this was the final great world fire, which, in common with the other Indians of this part of California, they anticipated.

[27] A short note in the Journal of American Folk-lore, XIX, 324–325, 1906, gives the substance of the following account.

OTHER MORNING DANCE

About eleven o'clock, four of the Sacramento valley men danced again. As before stated, such dancers always put on their costumes out of sight of the spectators. They usually approach dancing in single file (see pl. 2, figs. 3 and 4). Each *tūya* upon reaching the door squats in front of it and shakes his two split stick rattles. The *tcelītū* goes in immediately on his arrival, and when all is ready calls in the *tūya*.

AFTERNOON DANCES

The midday feast began a little after noon, as usual preceded by a speech from the director. The next dance was made by four men about three o'clock in the afternoon.

This being the last time that the particular dancers participating were to appear, a purification ceremony immediately followed the dance of each.

As each dancer took up his position in the tunnel of the dance house after completing his set of the dance, the fire tender went to him and, seizing his wrists, lifted his hands and his rattles high above his head. He then looked the dancer carefully over from head to foot and finally, letting go his hands, allowed the dancer's arms and rattles to fall to his sides, after which the dancer replaced his rattles in their former crossed position. The fire tender then, commencing at the dancer's feet, blew several times with much force on various parts of the dancer's body, waving his hand upward with each blast, and ending with a long blast directed so as to spread his breath over the whole body of the dancer. He then passed around to his back and again blew in the same manner. Before performing this ceremony, the fire tender chewed *mītcil*, a parasitic plant found on oaks, probably mistletoe as nearly as can be judged from its description. His breath being laden with the sweet-scented *mītcil*, served to expel from the dancer's body any spirit or evil effect of a spirit, *tcoyī*, which if unremoved would cause illness. Having blown upon a dancer in this manner, the fire tender stepped back to a position directly in front of the fire, that is, between the fire and the front door, and there raised his right hand high above his head and gave a long cry of "*hē*," dropping his hand and lowering his voice slowly toward the last. This completed the purification ceremony and the dancer was at liberty to depart.

Immediately after this dance and the purification of each of the

dancers, the director again delivered an oration, the latter part of which was cut short by the arrival of another set of dancers about four o'clock. Their dance was the same as the preceding, and was followed by the same purification ceremony. After they had departed, the director proceeded with his oration for perhaps half an hour longer.

ORATIONS

Several of the formal speeches delivered by the director on this afternoon as well as at other times during the Hesi were subsequently recorded as follows:

Bole Ho, "Ghost Yes" Oration[28]

hō hō ūrabōte
yes, yes, believe

hō ūrabōte hō ūrabōte hō ūrabōte
yes, believe, yes, believe, yes, believe

ūyōrīhem ūyōrīhem
what taught what taught

pīūLa pele ōū piribûm pīū'La pele ōū
here we yes tell, here we yes

piribûm
tell

wīlak wīlak Lapa tēwe doibûm
world world all-over speech giving

teama win mûtū kabec teama win
white people to hear waiting, white people

mûtū kabec
to hear waiting

tōpī ma paLēta tōpī bōle[29] ma
all save all ghosts

tōpī pile winībûm tōpī pile winībûm
all they seeing, all they seeing

pilēī manan pile tonobûm pilēī manan
they just like they dance, they just like

pile tonobûm
they dance

ōū La pilē imanatībûm ōū La pilē
yes they will be the same, yes they

imanatībûm
will be the same

pe him bapa oubûm
(they will not assist)

[28] Record 14–1495.

[29] So literally, but translated as "dreamer," "doctor," or "dance director."

pe him ba īlē bûm
(they will not do it)

pele wīnīhem
we seers

elel nanta harabûm elel nanta harabûm
believe not will go, believe not will go

ūs pelet ūs pelet
this to us, this to us

pele tan pele tan
our father, our father

piuLa pele ūleLa ka pēībûm
sometimes we them (what is the matter)

piūLa pele ūleLa ka pēībûm
sometimes we them (what is the mattter)

yapai mo dōītībûm yapai mo dōītībûm
dance will give, dance will give

teama win ma dōītībûm laiūkarū wīlak
white people will give good world

laiūkahem
goodness

oū hem oūbûm oū hem oūbûm
yes (people) yes, yes (people) yes

elel mūīte
not believe

nantēwēic nantēwēic
my speech, my speech

ūs pelet a ūs pelet a
this to us , this to us

pīūrū wīlak wīlak La dīdī La pīūrū
all world world on villages in, all

wīlak wīlak La dīdī La
world world on villages in

tēwē toyū werebem tēwē toyū werebem
speech stopped coming, speech stopped coming

pīū Laba bōle[29] teama win ma yapai
what doing ghost white people dance

ma dōītībûm[30] pēī manan ton mato
will give; show just like dance your,

pēī manan yapai matō pī ma
show just like dance your, that

ūlet doīūra bebempū
them give there

pīū Laba
what doing?

[29] So literally, but translated as "dreamer," "doctor," or "dance director."

[30] The speaker was asking a colleague or rival, Bulkas by name, from the Clear Lake region, what he intended to do, whether he intended to give another dance as the white people do.

teanaman tîteabûm teanaman tîteabûm
Chinaman will know, Chinaman will know

wîlakno Lûturu werît
world's trouble coming

pila tîteatîbûm teanaman tîteatîbûm teama
They will know, Chinaman will know, white

win Leksûm tîteatîbûm teama win
people later will know, white people

tîteatîbûm
will know

pal pile tēwē tîtea-mata dōîbûm tono
now we speech, let them know will give dance

dōîbûm yalûmas parûrû win win antara
will give leave crowded people people many

pîûrû teû Lahîs
for that I look

wîlak teû Lahîs wîlak teû Lahîs wîlak
world I look, world I look, world

teû Lahîs
I look.

teû mît pîûLa teû mît mûtmaton
I you sometimes I you will tell,

cômara mît heLa tepitî ôlel pite wîlak
let know you somewhere go out above, world

henpa La ôlel tepitî piLa heLa
find in above go, there somewhere

henpa La henpa La waiyel henpa
find in find in north find

La nôwîna henpa tî pîûnpî teû
in west find, thus I

Lahîbo pîûn teû Lahie ûn pîûLai
look, thus I look, there

pinai wîlak boteîtî[31]
do this world break down

nai henpa La ûn nai henpa La ûn
I find in I find in

wîlak boteîtî
world break down

ûnîca
so said

Free Paraphrase

You must believe what he has taught you. Here we should be glad. Give this speech to all the people, to the white people also for they are awaiting it. Every one is to be saved. All the dreamers see that. Just like them (the ghosts) we dance.

[31] "When I do this the world will end."

Some people will not assist, some will not do as they are instructed. Though our father (*i. e.*, ruler of the ghost world) told us this, we see that some people do not believe it. Sometimes we ask what the reason is.

We must give a dance. We will give it for the white people also. It is for the betterment of the world and for the improvement of the people.

Yes, some people do not believe my speech, but this is for us, for all the world and for all the villages.

What are you going to do? Do you intend to give another dance as the white people do?

The Chinese know that the world is coming to an end, and the white people will realize this after a while.

Now let us speak that all may know. Let us dance. The world is crowded with people. That is the reason for my search. I call you all to let you know that I am going away in search of the future world. I do not know just where it is, but know I shall find it somewhere above, either in the north or in the west. That is the way I shall look about and, when I do, the world will come to an end.

That is what I (the seer) said.

Another Bole Ho Oration[32]

o'u
yes

so'les bo'ti so'les bo'ti so'les bo'ti
listen stay, listen stay, listen stay

pele't ti'ptarobe' pele't
us telling us

mo'mhurobe' ete'ma te'we
telling us one word

ete'ma te'we
one word

tiple mile't tiple mile't
teach you, teach you

na't yo'rihem
me who tells

na't tipi'hem
me who teaches

pi'ma mile't mo'mhule
that you (I) shall tell

pa'l pele't pisi'n li'ptitobe'
now we with that shall die

pi'sin pale'i hara'tobe
with that we shall go

pisi'n pele'i tepi'tobe
with that we shall come out

pi'ubem eu'bem
thus being so

piu'ʟa upu pele'
when thus we

[32] Record 14–1510. A. L. Kroeber transcriber, Tom Odock translator.

wila'k upu pele' tono'Le
world thus we dance

wi'lak noitono'La upu pele'
world when dance thus we

piun tee'ltaro piun tee'ltaro
thus continue, thus continue

piun tee'ltaro piun tee'ltaro
thus continue, thus continue

lipti'tibom lipti'tibom
all will die, all will die

u-ni'sa u'-nisa ua't
that told, that told me

na't upu'-nisa mo'meLa
me thus told (tell)

na't upu'-nisa nati pi'La piu'nisa
me thus told, me there thus told

pi'uro e'unputa'n e'uuputa'n
thus jumping, jumping

e'unputa'n e'unputa'n
jumping, jumping

tee'ltaro pi pele pi'ura
continue this we thus

ha'wir peliptu'nica
quick die said

pi pi'mana teupa'ro pi'mana teupa'ro
that that (we) finished, that (we) finished

e wilak in e wilak in e wilak in
that world , that world , that world

pisi'nupu pele li'ptibom li'ptibom
that is what we die die

eun putu'ruteu teu
that I jumped I

uati piLa
me there

emus teanda'kumanisa
four times make step told

emus ua teandakumanisa piura nat
four times me make step told, thus me

teanda'ku u'nisa teanda'ku u'nisa
step told, step told

pius teu teanda'k wi'nisa
that I step saw

pal nai pi'uLa pi'uLa teu lu'unisa
when when I died

pi'uLa teu ui upuLa lu'muisa pi'uLa nai
when I (he) said died when

piu'ra teibo' piu'ra teibo' piu'ra teibo'
thus was, thus was thus was

tepu'nisa
(I) came out

wei[33] piu' ma nat wi'nit
Thanks, that me get up

winit pi'uro hetca's yuku'robe'
get up thus often awaken

uni'sa nat
told me

ba'kuma'nisa ba'kuma'nisa
made (me) count (it), made (me) count (it)

pi'ut nai
that I

emus nai lu'mitaro be'nisa uro be'nisa
four times I should die told that told

o'u piu'-nisa piu'-nisa piu'-nisa
yes thus it was, thus it was, thus it was

A Third Bole Ho Oration[34]

ō, ō! cō'lee bō'ti[35] (3). nai nai wini[36] (2), nat yori[37] (2), pima mīlet momhūle,[38] pima mīlet tīple, pīūLa mīleupū. Wīlak[39] wilakLa (2), oūbûm[40](2). pila pelet laiukon[41] tiabûm,[42] ō pīma teū ōū'nīsa, laiûk tepī, soro[43] laiûk mo'mī, soro ōū'nīsa, pīū mamat, ēwīsin mīle (2), pīū weresûn.[44] ēwīsin mīt pi'ūmatō ēū ti hitamatō[45] (2). tcī teū mara poiīma mile nisa. pīma nat momī sa tcī'tci[46] (2), pī'ma teū (2), pīma dūkamaru,[47] pīma Lūtūmara,[47] bûnīca ūrteū mū te'ū, mū teū bonīca pī'ū Lanai. pī la'iūk ie, pī la'iūk ie ûn, pīcin pī mīlē weretī. pīeen pī mīle pīūtī pīū'La (3), poīma mīlē'nīca.[48] ūī teītcūmūrū[49] (2), (pī) pī la'iuk ie ûn (2), pīūLa teur Lo'tūmara[50] būnīca, teū teūma bōnīca (2), pīmana teō ūnīca ēu mile (2). were ta bē ie eū ūnica, aihikūsai[51] ūnīca. pīūLa teū teū

[33] An exclamation of pleasure.

[34] Phonograph record 14-1513. Numbers in parentheses in the text indicate the number of times that the immediately preceding phrase—that is the group of words following the last mark of punctuation—is repeated.

[35] Listen!

[36] What I see.

[37] Teach me.

[38] I shall tell you that.

[39] World

[40] Believe.

[41] Good

[42] Call.

[43] "Tell good thought."

[44] Come, arrive.

[45] "When you do this, let him ask him."

[46] He that told me choked.

[47] "That wrong."

[48] "Would not let me mark (or write)."

[49] All choked.

[50] Bad.

[51] "How is that?"

mūlenīca[52] (2). nai nai piū, piū nai ōū'nīca (2), pīūmas ur ōūnīca. pī pī tewihem[53] pīū mateōūn laiukara bes ūnīsa mile pī cin wereLA wetūra[54] bec ūnīca, picin mile were laiukara bec pīūLA bōnīca tēū muūr. pīūLA piū mas ūr nat win tara (2). el nai pīūra dukamara[55] bo ou LAtūmas mī pīmami poros ūnica pī pīura yopuauica.[56] pīūLA kaL LAmana[57] ūītīpī'hem[58] (2). kaL LAnana[57] ūpurbenīca.

A Fourth Bole Ho Oration[59]

ō, ō! mīle pī (2), mīle pī tepībo[60] (2), mīle pī heLE har mīlē be (2). wīlak wīlak LAbon,[61] didi[62] LAbon, sūn pī melī tepībo, sūn pī melī werebo, sūn pī mile henebon, pīūLA mile mile, elelebosa[63] (2), mile pima mile, tepī yapai[64] win[65] lūmū[66] LA pin (2), heLA hara [67] pe, lum tar pele bobatin termūr.[68] teelmū[69] ūr ūbasa mīle, pī mīle yōma[70] les mīle pelelnan males topi mīle henee ē wīlak LA ēū dīhī[62] LA teūn pī mīle henē bō teūn pī mīle tepībō yōūmelēbe,[70] hēua pūīna[71] harmelēbe, worna[72] harmelēbe (2), teūn (ie) melē hene[73] eok (ie) (2), pī pī eūra hene bo, eūle pīle ie ûn, eūle pī pīle ûn pabe[74] tewe[75] ōūra ūn. eūle pīū LA tewe, mūtūhem[76] e e pabe tewe. nai tewe teaihun[77] behem[78] (2). pi eū henes, ūrū tepū maneca, teū mōmūn LA melet eū matōūn. sūn laiūkara tepū matōūn (2). teū pīū boūn pīLA mile piū bosaūn ūpun mile tewe bo sa elele, bo sa mile, pī pī tewe, hene bosa. male pīūhem ûn sûnpī[79] (2), henebo ûn sūnpī (2), werebo ûn sūnpī, mile tepibo ûn, wilak wilak LA bo ûn, dīdī LA bo ûn, pīū LA mile mile ūpūbosa malē tewe. pī ma bome bosa. mīle ūpūbosa nai mūtū LA ûn. mīle nai mūtū LA (2). nai sorī[80] LA tepī pabo, wiu lūmu LA harabo, hetūka harabo, bobo pele eū kir[81] LA ûn, pī LA mīle bobo ūnīsa, ūnī mīle tenteubosa[75] ûn, ūnī mile tewibosa.[75]

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[52] Then I said nothing, he said.
[53] Spoke.
[54] Is right.
[55] Inside me thus is bad.
[56] Took it off.
[57] Made a cracking noise.
[58] That is what he learned.
[59] Record 14–1514.
[60] Emerge, leave.
[61] Everywhere.
[62] Villages.
[63] Doubt, disbelieve.
[64] Dance.
[65] People.
[66] Dead.
[67] Go.
[68] "We are all dead."
[69] Travel.
[70] Lost; melēbe, never.
[71] East.
[72] South.
[73] Come.
[74] New(?)
[75] Word, speak, talk.
[76] Listeners, listening, hearing.
[77] Sorry.
[78] Being, who are.
[79] Here.
[80] Listen.
[81] Earth.

These speeches are to a certain extent traditional, but partly made up on the spur of the moment by the director. They are therefore subject to a greater or lesser variation from year to year and cannot be considered as strictly ritualistic and fixed in their terminology. The speeches here recorded must therefore be considered to evince some personal element, although the various orations of the successive ceremonies are without doubt in a fair measure the same verbatim, and certainly contain similar substance and sentiment. While they include certain esoteric elements, they consist more largely of words which are of the common speech, so that the people are able to understand their general tenor.

FINAL DANCE

The last dance of the ceremony was made about ten o'clock in the evening by four of the men from the host village. Toward the end of this dance, the *mōkī* appeared and participated in the same manner as in the initial dance on the opening night.

At the end of this dance all three of the *tūya* or big-head dancers were purified by the fire tender in the same manner as in the afternoon. This dance and the *mōkī* ceremony connected with it marked the end of the Hesi proper.

Early in the evening a grass game, *kosī*, was started outside the dance house and this continued throughout the night, not even being stopped during the above mentioned final dance.

FOURTH DAY

At about the usual eating time on the morning of the fourth day, a final feast was served at the long table near the dance house, after which the people all assembled in the dance house, each group taking its particular allotted place in the space for spectators. The host captain again brought in baskets of acorn soup and cakes of black meal and all were served in the same manner as on their arrival four days before.

FAREWELL ORATION

During this feast the director delivered a farewell oration, including a song, as follows:

Bole Ho and Song[82]

hanīse teñ nat ku tiyamti[83] (3). mūtmatû[84] tēwī (2), cōmatū[84] nat iyamti,[85] nat ku tiyamti. pīñLa tca hanicai,[86] pīñLa boniea, t'almū[87] pūītatara[88] hamtara[89] bonica. pi La ōñ teñ mit tiyasa[90] (2). mūtmata[84] sorūmata[91] nai pīñn Lakalasok[92] (2). eñ wīlak ûn, eñ toL,[93] pīrō,[94] matapan,[95] matapan, ōlel[96] bobon, pantiaLa[97] bobon, ponoLta[98] ie ûn, ponoLta ie matapan, matapan, teñn eteta[99] bos olelbe[96] bi ponoLta bebe ûn wīlak teñ teū Lahitic[100] ûn Lahic[100] teñ wīlak heLa henpato,[101] heLapa teenpati,[101] eñn teeltara[102] win[103] paros,[104] pīūra win paros, na nanū dīhī,[105] nanū dīhī nat.

woainī woainī (9)
eñ wīlak[106] woaini (2)
woainī woainī (2)
eñ mēmem[107] woainī (2)
woainī woainī (2)
eñ toL[108] woainī (2)
woainī woainī (3)
eñ bulī[109] woainī (2)
woainī woainī (1)
eñ mēmem woainī (2)
woainī woainī (2)
eī kapai[110] woainī (2)

[82] Records 14–1515 to 1517; numbers have the same meaning as in the two last speeches.

[83] "Went I me called."

[84] Hear.

[85] Called.

[86] Went.

[87] Naked.

[88] Toward the east.

[89] "Toward the sitting."

[90] "Was glad I called you."

[91] Listen.

[92] Play, dance.

[93] Mountain.

[94] "All."

[95] Your mother's brother (or grandfather).

[96] Above.

[97] High up.

[98] Three

[99] One.

[100] Seek.

[101] Find.

[102] Travel toward.

[103] People.

[104] Crowded.

[105] My villages, settlements.

[106] This world.

[107] These waters.

[108] These mountains.

[109] These foothills.

[110] These streams.

woainī woainī (1)
eī mēmem woainī (2)
woainī woainī (2)
eī tûki[111] woainī (2)
woainī woainī (1)
eī mēmem woainī (2)
woainī woainī (2)
eī kodoi[112] woainī (2)
eī mēmem woainī (2)
woainī woainī (4)

eū pī bō teū tē[113] (2), muhīma Le'tara[114] (2), eū pī bō teū tē (2), teūmūpi[115] teū eū bō eū pī bō teū nai Lakala La,[116] e nai toL Lakala La, e nai wīlak Lakala La, e nai tûki Lakala La, e kodoi Lakala La.

eūn pī teū tē (2). Lakala bon eūn pī teū, Lakala bon. eura polopūra[117] (2), polopūra (2), e teōlic[118] bo teōlic bo, eūra pī teū were bo. tūn[119] ūt poltūra[117] eūnīsa, tūn ūt poltūra. eūrū be ūt pīLa pīLaō ūt kaLaptonīsa.[120] pīLaō hatara[121] hatara hatara hatara. mobtara[122] nat boni[123] teū teū, pīnīsa.[124] eū pī bō teū ūnīsa[125] (2), nai Lakala La.[116] toL pī teū Lakala bō (2), eū mem Lakala bo, eu mem in pī teū Lakala bo, ūnīsa.

Free Paraphrase

My father called me and spoke to me. He called me to hear his counsel. I went above and found him naked and seated facing the east. He was glad to see me, and said: "I called you that you might hear what I have to say. This world and these mountains are your maternal uncles. There are three worlds above. There are three there, three of your uncles. There are already three worlds above, but I shall somewhere find a place where people may be sent. The world is crowded enough."

The song follows. "My father's" speech to the dreamer then continues:

"I do thus (*i. e.*, sing this) when I look for another place (*i. e.*, world). I never talk bad. I do this when I play, when I play on these mountains, when I play on this world, when I play on these trees, when I play on these rocks. I do this, my son. I swell up thus (illustrating) and swell and swell and swell. I shall show this way to you. This is the way I come." His body was wholly swelled. He was like that for a while there. Then he became normal in the

111 These woods, trees.
112 These rocks.
113 Son.
114 "Song stop."
115 Not speak, say nothing.
116 Play up on, when play.
117 Swelled.
118 Stay.
119 Body.
120 Said, it is well.
121 Gone.
122 Good.
123 Stay.
124 Said this.
125 Said that.

same place. The swelling was gone. He told me, "Remain to talk. I do thus," he said, "When I play on those mountains, when I play in the water, I play thus," he said.

DEPARTURE

The guests then prepared to depart, and by half past ten or eleven o'clock, the village was left with only its usual population. The director and the captain, together with one or two assistants, rolled up and laid away the dancing paraphernalia and in general took care of whatever it was desired to save for a future ceremony. The village then resumed its usual quietude and the people recuperated from the long vigil of the ceremony, for during these four days and nights most of them had scarcely slept.

ADDITIONAL SPEECHES AND SONGS

The following additional speeches and songs belong in the ceremony but have no fixed place in it. Various other songs and speeches were also delivered but time did not permit their recording.

Bole Ho Speech[126]

pi'roboiti, remain thus
gu'teima mile't ti'ple, a little (I) you inform
ete'ma t'e'we pa'mpama t'e'we, one word, two words
milet ti'ple, inform you
o'uraboiti (2), (and ye) say yes
pi'ro wi'lakupo (2), thus in the world
mo'ktaro were'bem (2), make will come
pele'tuka, to us
to pimma pele't paLe'to (2), they us will drive out
pi'ura were'bem, so will come
he'u wila'k (2), this world
pi'ura were'bem, so will come
pi sun mile didi'La didi'La, here you in the settlements, in the settlements
nanu t'e'we o'ura mi'le were' (2), my words approving you come
pi tei'derobes, that was straight
pi la'iokarobes, that was good
male'ipiu, what you do
nana t'e'we o''u, my words approve
pi'uLanpu teama'wiu, when on those white persons
teama'winupa (2), on white persons
pi'lei i ma'natibom (2), us will resemble
mui'tibom, will sing

[126] Record 14–1509, Thomas Odock translator, A. L. Kroeber transcriber. The lines indicate the phrasing, which is marked by considerable pauses, which are rhetorical rather than grammatical. Numbers denote repetitions of phrases.

mu'hun tono'tibom, sing will dance
o'ura o'uLa pile piu'tibom, approving, when approve we shall do so
o'ura were'hem, approving who come
pi'uLa upu were'bem, thus will come
pi'uLa wile'tuka, thus they
wile'tuka we'rebem, they will come
wile'i o'uuLa o'uuLa we'rebem, they when approve, when approve, will come
la'iokato were'bem (2), being good will come
eu teama'winoi pele'no t'e'we, these white people our words
pale uli teu do'is ule teu do'is, we (only) I give, (only) I give
ule teu tipis, (only) I inform
male'yimanan (2), like yourselves
eu'n Laka'lmato (2), thus playing (dancing)
teu do'is pimma, I give them
nanu t'e'we, my words
na'i teayu'nbobem (2), I who remain ashamed
pi'mma teu ti'pis, them I inform
pi'umato, doing thus
to pi'mma mele't paLe'mato, they you (putting out?)
to pi'mma mele't ebu'mato, they you (getting out?)
sun sun teu mele't pi'us, here, here I for you do so
sun sun te'pito, here, here emerge
mile e'uLa ha'rmiles, you when go (nowhere?)
pe mi'le le'luua'nmu eles (2), you become otherwise (at death).
pi'uLa mi'le sun he'nes, so when you here come
sun mi'le he'nes, here you come
sun mi'le te'pis, here you emerge
sun pi he'nebo wilakwila'ksel, here will come from all over the world
di'disel pi sun hene'bo, from the settlements here will come
eu ke'weLa, to this dance house
eu wo'leLa, to this dance floor
sun hene'bo sun pi hene'bo, here will come, here will come
urabes, so (I) say

First Moki Teemaho[127]

wuu'u wuu'u
tate' (3), father
wile eekte'i (3), healthy chief
wiles euLa', healthy
pima teu euLa', that I
pida euLa', (bring?)
pima teu euLa', that I
pida t'eweda euLa', that word
wile t'eweda euLa, healthy word
(record indistinct)
wileda' (5), healthy

[127] Record 14–1508, Odeck-Kroeber transcription. The phrases are very marked and accented on the last syllables. The translation of the eternal "euLa'" has not been attempted. It seems to mean "at this" or "when so." This speech is in much more rigid ritualistic form than the last, and may be more representative of the pre-ghost-dance Hesi manner. It is perhaps a prayer as much as a speech. It is not a report of a recent vision of the "father," like several of the preceding.

Second Moki Teemahõ[128]

wuu u wuu u
piLa teu euLa
naminda teu euLa
nan wileda euLa
nanu *Lupuru euLa
pima helairu euLa (= B)
(indistinct phrase)
(indistinct phrase)
pima teu were *boti *boai
euLa
nanuda euLa
nanu takada euLa
wile takada euLa
pima *Lupuru euLa (= A)
pima helairu euLa (= B)
humli takada euLa
pida helaira euLa
A
sai takada euLa
A
B
tekis takada euLa
wile takada euLa
A
B
nanu humtu takada euLa
A
B
hima euLa
nauu yulakda euLa
A
B
nanu *Lupuru euLa
B
nanu Loda euLa
A
B
A
pisin *hobloro euLa
(indistinct phrase)
namin *Lekieda euLa
nanu *Leida euLa
nanu *pelel euLa
nanu piLa euLa
hima euLa
wile *Lupura euLa
pima *holumpuluru euLa

[128] Same source as the preceding, and the same remarks apply. "A" and "B" in the text stand respectively for "pima Lupura euLa'" and "pima helairu euLa'." Helairu means to hold something in the hands and move it alternately to the right and left. Starred words are said to have an esoteric meaning.

nanu *pototoi takada euLa
A
B
A
pida euLa
hima euLa
pida teu (4)
*Lupurn teu
pima teu helairu teu
*wesai taka teu
e wile taka teu
e Lo taka teu
e pima *hobloro euLa (2)
pida teu (2)
pida teu wetarn (2)
hene boti *boai

Glossary of principal words in order of occurrence.—piLa, at that, there, when; *teu*, I; *namin*, mine; *-da*, translated "and" (*sic*); *nan*, *nanu*, my; *wile*, healthy; *pima*, that, they (*-ma* is a causative suffix of verbs and a plural of nouns denoting persons); *were*, arrive; *taka*, crop of acorns or wild growths; *humli*, a species of oak; *sai*, a species of oak; *tekis*, a species of oak; *humtu*, fat, grease, probably referring to the oily acorn called *hamsu; hima*, indeed, surely; *yulak*, acorns of *Quercus wizlizeni;* Lo, a kind of long acorn; *pisin*, with that; *wetaru*, arrive with; *hene*, come.

Four Speeches by the Moki[129]

I

wuu u (4)
piLa teu euLa (2)
nanu tealalLa euLa
wile tealalLa euLa
pira helayuru euLa
pima *Lupuru euLa
pima *cekaru euLa
piLa enLa
(indistinct phrase)
wile t'ewe euLa
(indistinct phrase)
nanu t'ewe teu
wile t'ewe teu
tealal t'ewe teu
tealal t'ewe teu
nanu bole t'ewe teu
piLa teu wiaru
*Lupuru teu pima helairu teu
(indistinct phrase: piLa teu . . . kayire teu)
piLa *pulaki *boti *boai

[129] Record 14–1494, Odock-Kroeber transcription. Spoken by Salvador in a high-keyed voice, while walking about the dance house in his Moki cloak. Starred words are esoteric; the principal others will be found in the preceding or following glossary.

II

wuu'u (2)
wi'le sekte'i (2)
wi'leda teu
nanu wi'leda teu
nanu wile teu
wi'leda teu hela'iru teu
lila'inma wile le'loru teu
lo'ibama wile le'loru teu
se'ribama wile le'loru teu
pida' teu nanu wi'leda teu
tea'lal wile'da teu
bo'le wile'da teu
pi'da teu *pula'ki *boti *boa'i

III

wuu'u (3)
wile sekte'i
wi'leda teu
nanu wile'da teu
na'nu
wi'le tea'lalda
wile *Lupi'da
wile helai'da
(indistinct phrase)
pi'ma teu hela'iru
pima *Lu'puru
pima teu (indistinct word)
ila'inma teu
lo'ibama
wile le'loru
se'ribama wile le'loru
se'ktubama
pi' ra teu weta'ru he'ne *boti *boa'i

IV

wuu'u (2)
wile sekte'i (2)
wile *be'sai
wi'leda teu na'nu wi'leda teu
bo'le wi'leda teu
pima *Lupuru teu pima teu hela'iru teu
pi'da wile'da teu
pi'da *pulaki *boti *boa'i

Supplementary Glossary.—tealal, pretty, literally, rose blossom, probably a ghost-dance word; *helairu, helayuru, helai-da*, sway, swing sidewise repeatedly; *t'ewe*, word, speak; *bole*, ghost, spirit of a dead person; *wiaru*, gather; *sektei, sektu*, chief; *lilain-ma, ilain-ma*, children; *leloru*, are made, become; *loiba-ma*, girls, maidens; *seriba-ma*, youths.

Farewell Speech to Visitors[130]

o'u
pi'ra hene'ti (4)
pe'le hene'sa
hene'sa pe'le hene'sa
se'ktu ma'tin
ma'iu ma'tin
ma'iuo t'e'we
o'uura
o'uura ut piu'ti
o'ura ut e'ubu
e'ubu e'ubu
pi'LA lomu'ru
piLA we'yuru
e'ura pele' huya'LA
e'ura pele' piu'LA
piura pele' huya'sa
u'no wo'leLA (2)
u'no te'wekLA
u'LA pele' huya'sa
piLA' pele' huya'sa
piu'LA (2)
pima lomu'ru
ewet lomu'ru (2)
weyu'ti
o'u'ti
o'u'sapi
pele't piu'LA
tei'dupasa pele't
pi'ra pele't witi'lupasa
pi'ura pele' u'no ke'weLA piu'sa u'no wo'leLA piu'sa
pi'LA pele' o'uparo
ut lomu'ru
ut we'yuru
weyu'ru pele' piu'sa (2)
eu'to eu'to
eu'n pele' piu'to
u'no wo'leLA ha'mtaro
u'no ou'LA ha'mtaro
pi'ra pele' piu'to
weyu'to
o'u'to
(h) eu'sa pele' eu'sa
(h)eu'sa pe'le
(Pause)
o'u'ra o'u'ra (2)
o'u'ti
ut o'u'ti
ut weyu'ti
ewe'ti sektuma
ewe't mainma

[130] Record 14–1499, Odock-Kroeber transcription.

o'u'ti
o'u'ti u'no t'e'we
u'no so'ko
u'i mile't piu'hem
piu'ra tei'dupara mile't
piu'ra witi'lupahem
pi'La o'uti
u'no t'e'we
u'no t'e'we u'no so'ko
pi'ma *koto'ro
pi'ra lomu'ti
lomu'ti ut lomu'ti
e'ura mile't huya''ma
e'ura mile't we'yuma
e'ura mile't tiya'sa
o'u'ti u'no t'e'we
u'no o'uti
o'u'ti o'u'ti
o'ura pele were' (2)
se'ktuno t'e'we
ma'ino t'e'we
pi'ma pele' lomu'ru
pi'ma pele' we'yuru
pi'ma pele' piu'sa
o'u'sa pele' o'u'sa

Glossary: Endings.—sa, -nisa, past; *-ti, -tis,* future, exhortative, imperative; *-to,* future; *-ma,* causative; *-hem,* he who; *-pa, -paro,* for; *-bem, -tibom,* future; *-t,* objective; *-no,* possessive; *-La,* on, in, at, when; *-sel,* from; *-siu,* with; *-upo, -upu(?),* at, on (?); *-tara, -taro,* toward, on to. *Stems.—heue,* come; *pele, pile,* we; *main,* "queen," "chief's sister," woman of princely family; *ou,* yes, say yes, approve; *piu,* do that; *lomu,* glad, rejoice; *weyu,* glad, rejoice; *huya,* gather, assemble; (*u,* he), *ut,* him, *uno,* his; *wole,* floor or area of dance house; *tewek,* cleared space in front of dance house; *teidu,* straight, come straight; *witilu,* run; *kewe,* dance house; *ham,* sit; *mile,* ye; *soko,* teach.

Three Toto Dance Songs[131]

1. ne'pe sume huya'sane

2. he hiyo'yoho
   were'ltina were'ltina
   he hiyo'yoho

3. ho'pil hopi'l
   ho'pil hopi'l
   ne'pil nepi'l
   ne'pil nepi'l

Nepe, nepil is the first person inclusive dual, "I and thou"; *huyasane* was translated "rocking," but *huya* also means to gather or assemble; *wereltina* was said to mean south.

[131] Records 14–1492, 14–1496.

Moki's Speech of Welcome in the Toto Dance[132]

piru boti
piru boti piru
laiakuru boti
laiakuru boti laiakuru
pima weyuru
pima lomuru
(h)e t'ewe lomuru
e lomuru
e tealal lomuru
wile tealal lomuru
milet iLa
o'ura boti (2)
o'uto pele were (2)
eura pele pinto
o'uto
weyuto
we tateu uto
we apateu uto
we labateu uto
(h) eura pele huyaLa (2)
piLa pele lomuto
peleno t'ewe (2)
pira weyuru
weyusa teu weyusa
teu lomusa
lomuru oparu
lomuru weyuru
pima o'uru
pima lomuru

Except for *laba*, older brother, this speech contains no words not found in the preceding ones: *we—uto* in lines 17–19 is evidently equivalent to *we(y)u-to*. This identity of phraseological material is significant for Wintun oratory. The speaker's freedom lies chiefly in making a different random arrangement of the same words. That a Toto speech should so closely parallel the Hesi speeches, need not surprise, in view of the Toto being only a modern substitute for one of the two annual Hesi performances.

THE HAND GAME

The "hand" or "grass" game,[133] often played by the Wintun as an adjunct to the Hesi, runs as follows.

[132] Phonograph record 14–1496, Odock-Kroeber transcription.

[133] Mr. Stewart Culin mentions this Wintun game, giving its native name as *dam*, in his Games of the North American Indians, Rep. Bur. Am. Ethn., XXIV, 283, 1907.

Two pairs of cylindrical bones from two to two and a half inches in length and half an inch in diameter are used. One of each pair is wound about its middle with string or sinew in order to mark it. With these bones is required a considerable quantity of finely chopped grass or, if this is not available, straw.

The tally of the game is kept by means of twelve sticks about eight or ten inches in length. These at the start are held by what may be called a tally keeper or overseer of the game, called *koimērū*. His name is the same as that of the fire tender of the dance house, and ordinarily the same individual serves both offices. His fee for this service is a portion, usually about ten per cent, of the stakes.

A large mat or blanket is ordinarily spread on each side of a middle ground which is perhaps five to eight feet across, and on each of these mats two players kneel, sitting on their heels. Each is provided with a quantity of the chopped grass, and each usually has with him one or more charm stones which he inserts under his mat for good luck. The tally keeper kneels or sits at a point midway between the two sets of players and at a little distance back, where he can see both sides as the game progresses.

He at first holds the twelve counters and the four bones with which the game is to be played. In case it is a game between residents on one side and visitors on the other, the visitors are always given the bones first. If it is played between two sets of visitors, or two sets of residents, priority is arranged by lot. The players of the holding side take each a marked and an unmarked bone and roll them between their palms for a minute or two, singing meanwhile their gambling song and usually spitting upon the bones as they roll them. They then take up in each hand a quantity of the chopped grass and hide each of the bones in a small bundle of it. The hands are now passed back of the body and the two bundles of grass rolled back and forth rapidly from one hand to another. Often the bundles are brought to the front again and shuffled there as rapidly as possible. The purpose is to confuse the opposing side, whose object it is to guess in which hand the marked bone of each player remains.

All this time the shufflers sing their individual gambling songs (*kosī mūlī*); although frequently only one of a pair of players actually sings an air, the other accompanying him with a more monotonous burden. Some players start with an air when they first take the bones, but upon burying these in the rolls of grass their song is reduced to a sort of low chant or hum, which is kept up until the guess

of the opposite side is finally made. If the guess is correct and the player loses, he sings again in a low voice; or in case the guess is incorrect and he wins, he breaks out wildly into the same air. During all this rolling and preparing for the guess, the body is kept swinging and swaying.

These are the words of a gambling song, which calls on the stakes to come to the player:

hima mi weni-hiya	hima you come
kay-uro mi weni-hiyo	walking you come
Lube mi weni-hiya	net you come[134]

Finally, when the player holding the bones is fully prepared, he places his right hand in front of him, and his left at the small of his back. The guesser meanwhile, for only one person of the opposing side guesses at a time, has struck his chest with his left fist several times, and swung his right arm at full length in front of him, pointing his right forefinger four times at the opposing side. Finally, when the rollers of the bones signify their readiness for the guess by placing their hands in the proper position, he points or snaps his fingers toward them and cries out his guess. If, however, he is not satisfied with the rolling and unprepared to guess, he gives a different call and the rollers must then shuffle the bones again before he is obliged to guess.

The positions may be as follows, x indicating the marked and o the unmarked bones.

Right	*Left*	*Right*	*Left*
x	o	x	o
o	x	o	x
o	x	x	o
x	o	o	x

Another position is now and then used: both bones in one hand. Since only the position of the marked bone counts, this device does not alter the effect of the guess.

As the guesser finally points and calls his guess, the two players open their hands. If he has guessed both of them correctly, the bones pass to his side, and one of the former shufflers now becomes the guesser. If he has guessed incorrectly on both bones, the tally keeper pays two counters to the shufflers and they retain the bones and resume hiding them. If the guesser is correct on only one of the bones, the

[134] Record 14–1500.

shuffler whom he has guessed stops playing, but no counters are passed, since the correct guess offsets the incorrect one. The surviving shuffler rolls the bones again and a new guess is made on his hands. If this second guess is incorrect, the tally keeper pays out one counter. The guessing is continued for the one outstanding bone, at the cost of a counter for each miss, until it is found. Both players of the original shuffling side having now been eliminated, the bones pass to the guessers, and the game proceeds as before. The tally keeper pays out for all incorrect guesses until all twelve of his counters are gone, after which payment for misses is made directly by the guessers to the hiding side.

The bones and counters may go back and forth from one side to the other for a considerable time. The game is won when one side possesses all twelve counters. The winners then divide the stakes, after the tally keeper's deduction. Anyone except the tally keeper may bet. A large number frequently join, each piece of property or coin laid down being matched by the opposing side. Custom rather expects any proffered bet to be met, although part is sometimes withdrawn if the opponents have difficulty in accumulating a like stake.

The guessing in this game is usually done by one or the other of the players themselves, but sometimes a side-better, reported to be skilful or lucky, acts as guesser.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

PLATE 22

Fig. 1. The Wintun village of Let in Cortina Valley, Colusa County, California.

Fig. 2. Director's assistant placing the rain and food fetishes (recent type) of the Hesi ceremony on the roof of the dance house.

Fig. 3. Moki performing dance about the high pole in front of the dance house. This pole with its banner seems to be a recent innovation under *bole* or ghost dance influence.

Fig. 4. Moki performing ceremonial dance about the feasting table and poles used in the Hesi.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

PLATE 23

Fig. 1. Fire dancers returning to the dance house after the plunge in the creek which follows the fire or sweat dance.

Fig. 2. Visitors from the Sacramento river region entering the dance house on their arrival.

Fig. 3. Tuya ("big head") dancers approaching the dance house.

Fig. 4. Tuya dancers, with their teelītū, standing in front of the dance house.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

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